

"NO TURNING BACK UNTIL MILITARY AUTOCRACY IS CRUSHED BY FORCE," PRESIDENT WILSON TELLS CONGRESS

Warns People of Central Empires U. S. Has Just Begun War for Humanity.

ANSWERS RECENT PEACE SPEECHES OF TEUTONS

Mobilization of America's Vast Military Resources to Go Steadily On, He Declares.

President Wilson, appearing unexpectedly before Congress today, replied to the recent peace speeches of Count von Hertling, the German chancellor, and Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, by reminding the statesmen of the central empires that peace can be discussed only on the basis of permanency and essential justice, and broadly warning the people of the central empires that the participation of the United States in the war for the emancipation of humanity only has begun.

Plainly, the President warned the German military autocracy that there was to be no pausing in the mobilization of America's vast military resources, now steadily on their way to the battle fronts, and that if peace were to be discussed it would have to be on a basis of sincerity. Otherwise, the President made plain there was to be no turning back until military autocracy was crushed by force of arms.

Austrian Minister Restrained.

Count Czernin's speech the President openly regarded sympathetically, but he considered the Austrian foreign minister restrained by the embarrassment of Austria's alliances and her dependence on Germany.

"Count Czernin," said the President, "seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes and does not seek to obscure them."

Chancellor Hertling's speech, however, the President characterized as "very vague and very confusing" and "full of equivocal phrases," leading nowhere clearly. The aim of the German chancellor, as judged by his speech, the President made plain, evidently was to secure peace advantages to the aim of the German military autocracy, and then subscribe to an international covenant to make it secure.

"Peace of World at Stake."

Count Hertling, the President declared, evidently was seeking such a peace as was made at the congress of Vienna.

"What is at stake now," said the President, "is the future of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order, based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice—no more peace of shreds and patches. It is possible that Count von Hertling, in his fainting fit, has thought in a world dead and gone."

There was a test, the President said, which would show whether it was of any avail to go on exchanging peace views and it could be made by applying the following principles:

- 1.—Each part of the final settlement must be based upon essential justice to bring a permanent peace.
- 2.—Peoples and provinces are not to be bartered away like Hittite slaves to establish a balance of powers.
- 3.—Territorial settlements must be for the benefit of people concerned and not merely adjustment of rival states' claims.
- 4.—Well defined national aspirations must be accorded all possible satisfaction.

No Choice But to Go On.

PRESIDENT'S REPLY TO PEACE TERMS OF CENTRAL POWERS

The President spoke as follows:

On the 8th of January I had the honor of addressing you on the objects of the war as our people conceive them. The prime minister of Great Britain had spoken in similar terms on the 5th of January. To these addresses the German chancellor replied on the 24th, and Count Czernin, for Austria, on the same day. It is gratifying to have our desire so promptly realized that all exchanges of new on this great matter should be made in the hearing of all the world.

Count Czernin's reply, which is directed chiefly to my own address on January 8, is uttered in a very friendly tone. He finds in my statement a sufficiently encouraging approach to the views of his own government to justify him in believing that it furnishes a basis for a more detailed discussion of purposes by the two governments. He is represented to have intimated that the views he was expressing had been communicated to me beforehand and that I was aware of them at the time he was uttering them. But in this I am sure he was misunderstood. I had received no intimation of what he intended to say. There was, of course, no reason why he should communicate privately with me. I am quite content to be one of his public audience.

Vague and Confusing Reply.

Count von Hertling's reply is, I must say, very vague and very confusing. It is full of equivocal phrases and leads it is not clear where. But it is certainly in a very different tone from that of Count Czernin, and apparently of an opposite purpose. It confirms, I am sorry to say, rather than removes, the unfortunate impression made by what we had learned of the conferences at Brest-Litovsk. His discussion and acceptance of our general principles lead him to no practical conclusions.

He refuses to apply them to the substantive items which must constitute the body of any final settlement. He is jealous of international action and of international counsel. He accepts, he says, the principle of public diplomacy, but he appears to insist that it be confined, at any rate in this case, to generalities and that the several particular questions of territory and sovereignty, the several questions upon whose settlement must depend the acceptance of peace by the twenty-three states now engaged in the war, must be discussed and settled, not in general council, but severally by the nations most immediately concerned by interest or neighborhood. He agrees that the seas should be free, but looks askance at any limitation to that freedom by international action in the interest of the common order. He would without reserve be glad to see economic barriers removed between nation and nation, for that could in no way impede the ambitions of the military party with whom he seems constrained to keep on terms. Neither does he raise objection to a limitation of armaments.

That matter will be settled of itself, he thinks, by the economic conditions which must follow the war. But the German colonies, he demands, must be returned without debate. He will discuss with no one but the representatives of Russia who disposition shall be made of the peoples and the lands of the Baltic provinces; with no one but the government of France the "conditions" under which French territory shall be evacuated; and only with Austria what shall be done with Poland. In the determination of all questions affecting the Balkan states he defers, as I understand him, to Austria and Turkey; and with regard to the agreements to be entered into concerning the non-Turkish peoples of the present Ottoman empire, to the Turkish authorities themselves. After a settlement all around, effected in this fashion, by a barter and concession, he would have no objection, if I correctly interpret his statement, to a league of nations which would undertake to hold the new balance of power steady against external disturbance.

Peace of World at Stake.

It must be evident to every one who understands what this war has wrought in the opinion and temper of the world that no general peace—no peace without the infinite sacrifices—of these years of tragical suffering can possibly be arrived at in any such fashion. The method the German chancellor proposes is the method of the congress of Vienna. We cannot and will not return to that. What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice—no more peace of shreds and patches. It is possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is in fact living in his thought in a world dead and gone. He has utterly forgotten the reichstag resolutions of the 19th of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between state and state. The peace of the world depends upon the settlement of each of the several problems to which I adverted in my

recent address to the congress. I, of course, do not mean that the peace of the world depends upon the acceptance of any particular set of suggestions as to the way in which those problems are to be dealt with. I mean only that those problems each and all affect the whole world; that unless they are dealt with in a spirit of unselfish and unadvised justice, with a view to the wishes, the natural connections, the racial aspirations, the security and the peace of mind of the peoples involved, no permanent peace, will have been attained. They cannot be discussed separately or in corners. None of them constitutes a private or separate interest from which the opinion of the world may be shut out. Whatever affects the peace affects mankind, and nothing settled by military force, if settled wrong, is settled at all. It will presently have to be reopened.

Is Count von Hertling not aware that he is speaking in the court of mankind; that all the awakened nations of the world now sit in judgment on what every public man, of whatever nation, may say on the issues of a conflict which has spread to every region of the world? The reichstag resolutions of July themselves frankly accepted the decisions of that court. There shall be no annexations, no contributions, no punitive damages. Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril. We cannot have general peace for the asking, or by the mere arrangements of a peace conference. It cannot be pieced together out of individual understandings between powerful states. All the parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue anywhere involved in it; because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain, and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment whether it be right and fair, an act of justice, rather than a bargain between sovereigns.

Principles to Be Applied.

After all, the test of whether it is possible for either government to go any further in this comparison of views is simple and obvious. The principles to be applied are these:

First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that

Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims amongst rival states; and

Fourth, that all well defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.

A general peace erected upon such foundations can be discussed. Until such a peace can be secured we have no choice but to go on. So far as we can judge, these principles that we regard as fundamental are already everywhere accepted as imperative except among the spokesmen of the military and annexationist party in Germany. If they have anywhere else been rejected, the objects have not been sufficiently numerous or influential to make their voices audible. The tragic circumstance is that this one party in Germany is apparently the only one that is not of men to their death to prevent what all the world now sees to be just.

I would not be a true spokesman of the people of the United States if I did not say once more that we entered this war upon no small occasion, and that we can never turn back from a course chosen upon principle. Our resources are in part mobilized now, and we shall not pause until they are mobilized in their entirety. Our armies are rapidly going to the fighting front, and will go more and more rapidly. Our whole strength will be put into this war, and we will not pause until we have won it. We are willing to maintain it at any cost. If territorial settlements and the political relations of great populations which have not the organized power to resist are to be determined by the contracts of the powerful governments which consider themselves not directly affected, as Count von Hertling proposes, also? It has come about in the altered world in which we now find ourselves that justice and the rights of peoples affect the whole field of international dealing as much as access to raw materials and fair and equal conditions of trade. Von Hertling wants the essential bases of commercial and industrial life to be safeguarded by common agreement and guarantee, but he cannot expect that to be conceded him if the other matters to be decided by the articles of peace are not handled in the same way and items in the final accounting. He cannot ask the benefit of common agreement in the one field without according it in the other. I take it for granted that he sees that separate and selfish compacts with regard to trade and the essential materials of manufacture would afford no foundation for peace. Neither, he may rest assured, will separate and selfish compacts with regard to provinces and peoples.

Count Czernin seems to see the fundamental elements of peace with clear eyes and does not seek to obscure them. He sees that an independent Poland made up of all the indisputably Polish peoples who lie contiguous to one another, is a mat-



ter of European concern and must of course be conceded; that Belgium must be evacuated and restored, no matter what sacrifices and concessions that may involve; and that national aspirations must be satisfied, even within his own empire, in the common interest of Europe and mankind. If he is silent about questions which touch the interest and purpose of his allies more deeply than they touch those of Austria only, it must be of course because he feels constrained, I suppose, to defer to Germany and Turkey in the circumstances. Seeing and conceding, as he does, the essential principles involved and the necessity of candidly applying them, he naturally feels that Austria can respond to the purpose of peace as expressed by the United States with less embarrassment than could Germany. He would probably have gone much farther had it not been for the embarrassments of Austria's alliances and of her dependence upon Germany.

TOTALS OVER \$7,000,000,000.

War Risk Insurance Taken by Soldiers, Sailors and Marines.

The biggest life insurance concern in the world, the federal war insurance bureau, has written so far more than \$7,000,000,000 worth of insurance on the lives of soldiers, sailors and marines and others entitled to the benefits of the proposition. More than \$1,000,000 in war insurance has been taken up within the last five days. The grand total of \$7,000,000,000 does not include applications from overseas forces and those in transit. Applications from \$25,611 officers and men have been received. There is every indication that the goal of 1,000,000 men insured will be reached by tomorrow.

More than ten camps already have reported upward of 90 per cent of their personnel insured. The first of the men to be the first with a 100 per cent record is spurring on all insurance officers. Automatic insurance without application ceases tomorrow for all men in the service, regardless of date of enlistment.

PUT ON CONSERVATION LIST.

More Materials to Be Licensed Before Being Exported.

Additions made by the war trade board to its conservation list of materials which may not be exported to any country except under license include the following commodities:

"Macaroni, spaghetti, vermicelli, noodles, crackers, biscuits, wheat cereals and other products made from wheat, rye flour, rye meal, linseed meal, plate rolling mills, open-hearth blast furnaces, steel furnaces, rubber and all commodities containing rubber."

Announcement

On and after Wednesday, February 13th, the price of The Evening Star in Washington and suburbs will be 2 cents per copy, at which price The Star has been sold for some time past at more distant points.

Subscribers served by regular carriers will continue at the present rate until March 1, after which date the rate will be 60 cents per month for the Daily and Sunday Star or 40 cents per month for the Daily only.

The Star takes this step reluctantly and only because conditions make it necessary.

The great increase in cost of production has forced the same change in the newspapers of practically all cities of considerable size throughout the country, and the few remaining 1-cent papers will, like The Star, doubtless find an increase in price inevitable.

The cost of paper and ink used in the production of The Star alone increased more than \$180,000.00 in 1917 over 1916, while labor and all other costs also advanced heavily.

Under the new price newsdealers and newsboys will make an increased profit of 50% on every copy sold, and in order to insure them against loss in the period of readjustment they will be given the right to "return" unsold copies.

PASSES RESTLESS NIGHT.

Col. Roosevelt's Condition, However, Reported Practically Unchanged.

NEW YORK, February 11.—Doctors attending Col. Theodore Roosevelt in their first official bulletin today said he had a "rather restless night," but that his condition was "practically the same as yesterday."

"Just now" his temperature and pulse are normal," the statement concluded. Yesterday it was said at the Roosevelt Hospital, where the former President last week underwent two operations, that he was improving and that although he might suffer acutely for several days his complete recovery was expected.

ANIMAL PETS FOLLOW MASTER.

Strange Fatality on Farm of Late John L. Sullivan.

ABINGTON, Mass., February 11.—Death has laid a heavy hand on John L. Sullivan's animal friends at his farm here. The day after the former champion was buried, "Colonel Corn," his favorite horse, dropped dead in his stall, and the next day another constant companion, a bulldog given him by "Yank" Sullivan of Syracuse, N. Y., died. To complete the list the ring hero's cow and two collie dogs, in which he had taken great pride, died last night.

BRITISH RECORD IS 7,077 CASUALTIES PAST WEEK

LONDON, February 11.—British casualties reported in the last week are 7,077, divided as follows:

Killed or died of wounds—Officers, 73; men, 1,560.

Wounded or missing—Officers, 155; men, 5,453.

This total is only slightly in excess of last week's figures, which, amounting to 6,554, reached the low mark for several months.

DETAILS OF UKRAINIAN PEACE PACT AND TERMS SENT FROM BREST-LITOVSK VIA BERLIN

AMSTERDAM, February 11.—A dispatch from Brest-Litovsk, via Berlin, giving the details of the conference at which the peace treaty between the central powers and the new Ukrainian republic was signed has been received here. The dispatch follows:

"The Ukrainian people, anxious to announce at the beginning of the last pause in the negotiations that the basis for the conclusion of peace between the quadruple alliance and the Ukrainian people's republic has been found. After the return of the delegation to Brest-Litovsk negotiations on the basis were continued."

"Thanks to the energetic and untiring work of the commissions and thanks to the spirit of conciliation inspiring all parties, agreement on all points was established save one, which was the ratification of the peace treaty. The technical difficulties connected with the ratification of the treaty were not possible to hold a formal sitting and affix signatures until in the early morning hours of Saturday."

Declare War at End.

"Article I.—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, on the one hand, and the Ukrainian people's republic, on the other, declare that the state of war between them is at an end. The contracting parties are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another."

"Article II.—Between Austria-Hungary, on the one hand, and the Ukrainian people's republic, on the other, the border one another, those frontiers which were established before the outbreak of the present war between the Hungarian monarchy and Russia. Farther north the frontier of the republic shall be the frontier of the republic of Poland, which shall be determined by the zym, Mshrestschel, Samarsk, Radomsk, and Wydzowskieske. This shall be fixed in detail by a special mission according to ethnographical conditions and with a regard to the desire of the Ukrainian people to have common frontiers with another of the powers of the quadruple alliance. Special agreements will be made thereon."

To Evacuate Territory.

"Article III.—The evacuation of occupied territories will begin immediately after the ratification of the present treaty. The manner of carrying out the evacuation and the transfer of the evacuated territories will be determined by the plenipotentiaries of the contracting parties."

"Article IV.—The diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties shall be entered upon immediately after the ratification of the present treaty. The respective parties to the treaty shall be determined by special agreements to be made thereon."

Prisoners to Return Home.

"Article VI.—The respective prisoners of war will be permitted to return to their homes as soon as they have received the approval of the state concerned, to remain in its territories or proceed to any other country. The regulations for the questions connected herewith will follow by means of separate treaties to be concluded between the contracting parties."

Sign Copy of Treaty.

"Dr. von Kuehlmann then invited the representatives to sign the peace treaty. At one minute before 2 o'clock Dr. von Kuehlmann, as the first signatory, signed a copy of the treaty prepared for Germany, and by 2:30 o'clock all the signatures had been affixed. The treaty is entitled: 'A treaty of

RUSSIA DECLARES WAR AT END, ORDERS TROOPS ON ALL FRONTS TO QUIT

Brest-Litovsk Dispatches Assert Pact Stops Conflict With Germany, Austro-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria.

France and Great Britain Said to Have Recognized Ukrainian Republic, but Reports Lack Confirmation—Terms in Detail.

By the Associated Press.

AMSTERDAM, February 11.—Russia has declared the state of war to be at an end and has ordered the demobilization of Russian forces on all fronts, according to a dispatch received here today, dated Brest-Litovsk on Sunday. The dispatch follows:

"The president of the Russian delegation at today's (Sunday) sitting stated that while Russia was desisting from signing a formal peace treaty, it declared the state of war to be ended with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria, simultaneously giving orders for complete demobilization of Russian forces on all fronts."

A dispatch from Vienna says negotiations between Austro-Hungarian and Russian commissions at Petrograd resulted on January 31 in an agreement to the effect that Austro-Hungarian civilians detained in Russia and Russian civilians detained in Austria-Hungary of specified categories shall, as far as they desire, be repatriated as speedily as possible.

The specified classes include girls, women and males under sixteen or over forty-five and males between the ages of sixteen and forty-five who are unfit for military service. Doctors and clergymen, regardless of age, also are included in the agreement.

LONDON, February 11.—The remarkable statement that France and Great Britain have recognized the Ukrainian republic and sent diplomatic representatives there is contained in an official statement sent out by the Russian wireless news agency, and issued here through a press bureau. The statement occurs in the course of a report of the proceedings at the Brest-Litovsk conference of February 1, at which M. Sevrucki, who apparently is the new chairman of the Ukrainian delegation, represented as saying that by an act of the Ukrainian rada November 7 the Ukrainian republic declared that these diplomatic representatives had been appointed.

M. Sevrucki is reported to have quoted from the act passed by the rada as follows:

"At 10 p.m. Friday nothing remained of the rada but a sad memory. It is now clear that the delegation from the rada at Brest-Litovsk representing a non-existent authority."

Officials Here Doubt Report.

The government here has no knowledge of the report that the Ukrainian republic has been recognized by Great Britain and sent diplomatic representatives to the United States, and officials here were inclined to doubt the report.

Grant Part of Galicia.

Information which is apparently authoritative has been received in Stockholm, according to the Times.

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